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TBC-POLAND-ASSESS 2.TAKES
TNEWS ANALYSIS
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TC.1984 N.Y. TIMES NEWS SERVICE

WARSAW, POLAND - THE PRESSURES OF POLITICAL GEOGRAPHY THAT HAVE SHAPED AND RESHAPED POLAND SINCE THE DAYS OF THE TEUTONIC KNIGHTS AND MUSCOVITE CZARS HAVE INCREASED PERCEPTIBLY THIS SUMMER, FIRST IN RESPONSE TO THE PROSPECT OF GERMAN RECONCILIATION AND THEN IN THE WAKE OF PRESIDENT REAGAN'S REMARKS CHALLENGING SOVIET VIEWS OF THE YALTA AGREEMENT.

THE DEVELOPMENT COMES 45 YEARS AFTER HITLER AND STALIN DIVIDED POLAND BETWEEN THEM WITH THEIR PACT OF AUG. 23, 1939. IT ALSO COMES AMID CONTINUING OFFICIAL CELEBRATIONS MARKING THE 40TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE ESTABLISHMENT OF COMMUNIST RULE IN POLAND BEHIND THE LINES OF ADVANCING SOVIET ARMIES.

IN MORE CONTEMPORARY TERMS, THE POLISH RESPONSES TO THE GERMAN ISSUE AND THE YALTA STATEMENT SEEM TO HAVE A DIRECT BEARING ON THE POLISH GOVERNMENT'S HOPES FOR BRIDGING INTERNAL SOCIAL DIVISIONS.

SUCH ANNIVERSARIES HAVE BEEN GIVEN ADDITIONAL PERTINENCE BY THE SCHEDULED VISIT TO WEST GERMANY NEXT MONTH OF ERICH HONECKER, THE EAST GERMAN LEADER, AND BY WHAT IS VIEWED HERE AS THE SPECTER OF GERMAN REUNIFICATION. POLISH FEARS ON THIS ISSUE WERE MADE CLEAR BY GEN. WOJCIECH JARUZELSKI, THE POLISH LEADER, IN HIS ADDRESS JULY 22 MARKING THE ESTABLISHMENT OF COMMUNIST RULE.

''ONE OF THE ESSENTIAL CONDITIONS FOR PEACE IN EUROPE IS THE PREVENTION OF THE RETURN OF POWERFUL GERMAN EXPANSIONISM, WHICH IS BEING REVIVED UNDER THE PRETEXT OF UNIFICATION;'' HE DECLARED.

''WE, THE POLISH PEOPLE, REMEMBER VIVIDLY THE SEPTEMBER 1939 TRAGEDY AND THE REASONS BEHIND HITLER'S INVASION OF POLAND;'' SAID THE GENERAL, WHO WENT ON TO CITE WHAT HE CALLED THE INCREASING MILITARISM OF WEST GERMANY AND THE REVANCHIST AND ANTI-POLISH CLAIMS OF SOME WEST GERMANS WHO HAVE INSISTED THAT GERMAN ETHNIC MINORITIES HAVE BEEN CULTURALLY DEPRIVED.

SEVERAL POLISH OFFICIALS HAVE LIKENED THESE ASSERTIONS TO THE KIND OF IRREDENTIST CLAIMS USED BY HITLER TO JUSTIFY HIS SEIZURE OF THE SUDETENLAND FROM CZECHOSLOVAKIA IN 1938. THEY HAVE INSISTED THAT THERE ARE NO PEOPLE WHO CONSIDER THEMSELVES GERMANS LIVING IN THE FORMERLY GERMAN TERRITORIES THAT POLAND GAINED AFTER THE WAR WHEN ITS OLD EASTERN AREAS WERE INCORPORATED INTO THE SOVIET UNION.

''THOSE PEOPLE ACROSS THE ELBE WHO HAVE SUDDENLY DISCOVERED A MULTIMILLION GERMAN MINORITY IN POLAND COULD AS EASILY DISCOVER PEOPLE ON THE MOON;'' JARUZELSKI SAID IN HIS ADDRESS TO PARLIAMENT.

THIS VIEW, NO DOUBT A GENUINE REFLECTION OF HISTORIC POLISH FEARS, IS ALSO THE CLOSEST ECHO OF THE SOVIET POSITION ON GERMAN RAPPROCHEMENT AND THE IMPLICATIONS OF THE HONECKER VISIT TO BE ISSUED BY ANY WARSAW PACT COUNTRY, WITH THE POSSIBLE EXCEPTION OF CZECHOSLOVAKIA.

HUNGARIAN NEWSPAPERS HAVE PRAISED THE VISIT WHILE ROMANIA'S LEADER, NICOLAE CEAUCESCU, IS REPORTEDLY PLANNING HIS OWN TRIP TO WEST GERMANY LATER THIS YEAR. WITHIN THE BLOC, THIS HAS MEANT THAT POLAND, LONG REGARDED BY MOSCOW AS THE MOST SUSPECT AND DEVIANT OF ITS ALLIES, HAS FOR THE MOMENT GAINED SOME STANDING AND THAT NOW IT IS EAST GERMANY THAT MOSCOW VIEWS AS PECK'S BAD BOY.

THOUGH THE POLISH ATTITUDE PARALLELS THE SOVIET RESPONSE, THERE IS ONE PURELY POLISH DIMENSION THAT IS USUALLY MENTIONED BY POLES IN HUSHED TONES. THEY POINT OUT THAT ULTIMATELY ANY GERMAN REUNIFICATION COULD COME ONLY WITH SOVIET APPROVAL AND THAT AT SOME POINT IT MIGHT BE WORTHWHILE FOR MOSCOW TO HAVE A REUNITED BUT NEUTRAL AND MISSILE-FREE GERMANY.

IN THAT CASE, THE RUSSIANS MIGHT ALSO FAVOR THE RETURN OF FORMERLY GERMAN POLISH LANDS TO PUNISH AN OBSTREPEROUS POLAND IN THE SAME WAY IMPERIAL RUSSIA PUNISHED THE POLES, TRIMMING THEIR LANDS.

ANOTHER CONSEQUENCE OF THE HONECKER VISIT AND THE POSSIBILITIES IT RAISES HAS BEEN THE RESPONSE OF POLAND'S ROMAN CATHOLIC CHURCH, WHICH HAS POINTEDLY SUPPORTED JARUZELSKI, EVEN ATTACKING GERMAN CATHOLICS WHO APPEALED TO HAVE MASSES CELEBRATED IN GERMAN FOR WHAT THEY ASSERTED WERE THEIR ETHNIC BRETHREN IN POLAND.

IN HIS ADDRESS TO ALMOST 200,000 PEOPLE IN CZESTOCHOWA LAST WEEK, CARDINAL JOZEF GLEMP, THE PRIMATE OF POLAND, NOTICEABLY AVOIDED ANY MENTION OF THE BANNED SOLIDARITY MOVEMENT OR AMNESTY BUT INSTEAD ENPHATICALLY CHIDED THE GERMAN CATHOLICS BY SAYING THERE WERE NO CULTURALLY DEPRIVED OR GENUINE GERMANS IN POLAND.

CHURCH SOURCES EXPLAINED THAT THE PRIMATE, WHO SPOKE FACING DOZENS OF PLACARDS HELD ALOFT BY SOLIDARITY SUPPORTERS, FRAMED HIS SPEECH TO ACCOMMODATE JARUZELSKI AFTER HAVING REFUSED THE GENERAL'S REQUEST LAST YEAR TO SIGN A JOINT COMMUNIQUE ON THE GERMAN ISSUE.

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SOME OF THESE SOURCES SAY THAT JUST AS THE POLISH GOVERNMENT MAY HAVE WON SOME ROOM FOR MANEUVER FROM MOSCOW WITH ITS POSITION ON THE GERMAN ISSUE, SO, TOO, THE POLISH CHURCH, BY STRESSING ITS SUPPORT OF THE GOVERNMENT ON THIS POINT, IS SEEKING TO GAIN ADVANTAGE IN THE MANY AREAS WHERE IT IS PITTED AGAINST THE AUTHORITIES.

FOR UNDERLYING THESE FOREIGN POLICY STANCES IS THE @UESTION OF HOW THEY RELATE TO THE ISSUES OF DOMESTIC CHANGE AND NATIONAL RECONCILIATION IN THE WAKE OF AMNESTY.

THERE IS NO DOUBT, A CATHOLIC INTELLECTUAL IN KRAKOW SAID, THAT JARUZELSKI HAS THROUGH HIS POSITION ON GERMANY WON ROOM FOR MANEUVER FROM THE RUSSIANS. THE QUESTION, HE SAID, IS WHETHER THE GENERAL USES IT TO NARROW THE GAP BETWEEN STATE AND SOCIETY.

ACCORDING TO THIS SOURCE, AN EDITOR AT AN INDEPENDENT CATHOLIC JOURNAL, THE AUTHORITIES COULD NOW MOVE IN THREE DIFFERENT AREAS TO WIN OVER LARGE GROUPS AMONG THE DISAFFECTED MASSES.

THE GENERAL COULD, THE EDITOR SAID, PERMIT THE CREATION OF NEW INDEPENDENT TRADE UNIONS APART FROM EITHER SOLIDARITY OR THE GOVERNMENT UNIONS; HE COULD CALL PARLIAMENTARY ELECTIONS WITH BROADENED NON-PARTY PARTICIPATION, AND HE COULD ALLOW THE REORGANIZATION OF INDEPENDENT CULTURAL ORGANS LIKE THE WRITERS' AND JOURNALISTS' UNIONS THAT WERE DISMANTLED AS THE SOLIDARITY MOVEMENT WAS CRUSHED.

THE EDITOR, WHO SAID HE PERSONALLY DOUBTED THAT ANY OF THESE INITIATIVES WOULD BE TAKEN, CONCEDED THAT THEY HAD LESS CHANCE OF ADOPTION IF THEY APPEARED TO BE ULTIMATUMS FROM EITHER SOLIDARITY OR THE WEST.

MEANWHILE, THE MOVEMENT AROUND SOLIDARITY HAS SO FAR MADE NO LOUD STATEMENTS ON EITHER THE GERMAN QUESTION OR PRESIDENT REAGAN'S ASSERTION TO A GROUP OF POLISH-AMERICANS THAT THE YALTA AGREEMENT OF 1945 DID NOT MEAN THAT THE UNITED STATES ACQUIESCED IN THE PARTITION OF EUROPE INTO SPHERES OF INFLUENCE BUT RATHER THAT THE PACT GUARANTEED FREE ELECTIONS FOR THOSE COUNTRIES LIBERATED FROM GERMAN OCCUPATION.

PRIVATELY, SOME DISSIDENTS HAVE APPLAUDED REAGAN'S WORDS, THOUGH THEY SAID THEY WONDERED WHETHER THEY REPRESENTED CAMPAIGN POLEMICS AIMED AT POLISH-AMERICAN VOTERS IN CHICAGO AND DETROIT OR WHETHER THEY INDEED REFLECTED SOME POLICY COMMITMENT TO RENEGOTIATE YALTA.

IN CONVERSATIONS WITH ORDINARY POLES, IT IS THE RUSSIANS WHO ARE SEEN AS THE MOST THREATENING NEIGHBOR. ON THE OTHER HAND, THE MEMORIES OF NAZI GENOCIDE AND DEVASTATION ARE KEPT ALIVE NOT ONLY BY THOUSANDS OF MONUMENTS BUT ALSO BY MILLIONS OF FAMILY STORIES.

EVEN BEFORE REAGAN'S REMARKS, JARUZELSKI SAID THAT THE VIEWS OF THE YALTA AND POTSDAM ACCORDS THAT HAVE PREVAILED FOR 40 YEARS HAD TO REMAIN UNCHANGED AND THAT THE SAME APPLIED TO THE SOVIET POSITION THAT THE HELSINKI ACCORDS OF 1975 CONFIRMED THE POSTWAR PACTS.

''ANYONE WHO PRONOUNCES HIMSELF AGAINST THESE PRINCIPLES IS PLAYING WITH FIRE AND PLACING HIMSELF AMONG POLAND'S ENEMIES,'' THE GENERAL SAID IN HIS PARLIAMENTARY ADDRESS.

MORE RECENTLY, A GOVERNMENT SPOKESMAN CHARGED THAT REAGAN'S COMMENTS REPRESENTED MANIPULATIONS OF POLISH HISTORY, INTERFERENCE IN POLISH AFFAIRS AND SUPPORT FOR THOSE SEEKING TO DESTABILIZE POLAND.
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